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International Abolitionist Federation

International Congress on the White Slave Traffic

[London]

[1899]

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Memorandum

presented to the

International Congress,

21st to 23rd June, 1899.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

ON THE

WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC,

HELD IN LONDON,

21ST, 22ND, AND 23RD JUNE, 1899.

Memorandum

PRESENTED TO THE

DELEGATES AND MEMBERS

BY

THE BRITISH COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION FOR THE ABOLITION OF STATE REGULATION OF PROSTITUTION.

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OFFICE OF THE BRITISH COMMITTEE,

17, TOTHILL STREET,

WESTMINSTER,

LONDON.

June, 1899.

REGULATED VICE

AND THE

WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC.

THE following pages are written with the object of expressing, in a narrow compass, the objections taken by the International Abolitionist Federation to the System, wherever it may be found, of State Regulation and Licensing of prostitution.

These objections may be variously classified as Moral, Political and Hygienic. But while recognising a certain convenience in such a classification of their objections the Federation have always safe-guarded themselves against being understood as recognising the possibility of there being any essential divergence or contrariety of principle in the considerations which are respectively named Moral, Political and Hygienic. They have always maintained that the standard of Moral, Political and Hygienic Rectitude is unalterably the same; that the Laws of Morals, of Justice, and of Health are identical; that nothing which is Morally Wrong can ever for a single instant, or by any possibility, be either Politically or Hygienically Right. If, however, there should at any moment, or to any mind, appear to be the smallest conflict between the dictates of Morality on the one hand and the dictates of Political or Hygienic Expediency on the other

(the possibility of which conflict the Federation strenuously deny) they would not hesitate to give emphatic precedence to the dictates of Morality.

It has been thought necessary to make this declaration by way of preface to all that follows, and to ask the reader to bear it in mind as qualifying and governing the whole. It is the more necessary, perhaps, because while the ensuing criticisms will aim at dealing with all the principal aspects of the system in question, it has been felt to be futile and misleading to regard any one aspect of the system apart from the paramount consideration of Morality.

The Nature and Methods of the System.

Although it will be found that the devices for Regulating and Licensing prostitution present various forms in different countries, and a number of untried devices are from time to time suggested on every hand, yet they one and all follow—and indeed must needs follow—a common type, and differ from one another in points which can only be reckoned as of subordinate detail.

The System in vogue in all its forms, may be described as an attempt to mark out an area, sufficiently limited to admit of the efficient application of curative or palliative medical measures. Outside this area vice in women shall be repressed by law, and inside it vice in men and women alike shall be regulated for the protection of vicious men, and even facilitated to the utmost, by all means that medical science and administrative ingenuity can devise.

The essential preliminary to all that follows is the creation of a class of prostitutes by a process of strict registration.

The unregistered prostitute, as will presently be shown, is the *bête noire* equally of the medical and of the police advocate of Regulation.

The System on the Continent of Europe and generally.

In most European cities there is an Administrative Department, which is kept as far as possible from observation, but which, in the defence of all that is pure and noble in national and individual life, needs to be exposed. The various Governments have established similar Departments in their colonies and settlements; and there are not a few claiming to be experts who demand that these Departments shall be internationally organized. The subject is therefore one of world-wide and not merely local importance.

The system administered by these Departments is everywhere identical in its object and operative principles. These have been ably and voluminously set forth by professing experts, in a literature not intended for the public eye, but only for an inner circle of the initiated, to whom alone they dare to speak and write the unvarnished truth. One of these experts (Dr. Diday) gives it the truly descriptive title of "A System for making Prostitution Healthy" (*Système d'assainissement de la prostitution*).

Wherever this system is in operation, prostitution is treated as an "industry,"* and even as a "necessity." †

* "La triste industrie de la prostituée." Dr. Hyppolyte Mireur. "La Syphilis et la Prostitution," p. 249.

† "The regulation (*réglementation*) of the prostitutes is not only useful, but even indispensable as prostitution itself." *Ibid*, p. 246.

The Departments seek to protect the customers of the women engaged in this "industry" against the risk of its specific diseases, by securing the submission of the latter to a periodical medical inspection. Those whose sanitary condition is found to involve this risk are confined in hospital-prisons until cured, the remainder being set free to continue their "industry" unmolested; being thereby always *virtually* and often *in writing*, certified as fit therefor. To secure the submission of the women to this inspection is a task of the greatest difficulty. To its accomplishment the Administrations direct their utmost vigilance and powers.

As to the character of the whole proceeding let an expert speak. Dr. Hyppolyte Mireur, an examining surgeon at Marseilles, says:—

"The Administration pretends not *to authorise* prostitution, but only *to tolerate* it. But it is time to cease playing with words; let us be logical and let us be sincere." [When a woman has] "submitted herself to the surveillance of the police, certain obligations are imposed upon her; certain limitations are prescribed to her (*des défenses lui sont prescrites*); but at the same time she acquires at this price the right to live by debauchery, *to devote herself to prostitution with impunity*." "She has the right to *practise freely in her own quarter, to provoke to debauchery in the evening, and during part of the night, to address herself directly to men, but always without persistence.*" * "The industry of debauchery may be freely carried on, and it may almost be said to be under the protection of the government." †

* Mireur, "La Syphilis et la Prostitution," pp. 384, 385. The italics are Dr. Mireur's.

† *Ibid.*, p. 383. The authorities quoted (except where otherwise indicated) are not responsible for the italics.

The same writer speaks of "the official formality which *regularises and legitimates* the sorrowful industry of the prostitute." *

The System in the United Kingdom.

In the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland the system was enacted by a series of statutes passed from 1864 to 1869. From the latter year until 1883 the system, which was applied to 18 military and naval stations, was in full operation. It was suspended in 1883 and abolished in 1886.

Under these Acts the conduct of the system was mainly vested in a special class of plain-clothes police. A woman concerning whom information was given by the police to the effect that there was good cause to believe that she was a common prostitute, was subjected to compulsory and periodical examination. The activity of these police in the United Kingdom, as elsewhere, was largely exercised in connection with women and girls who were hovering between respectability and prostitution, and who were suspected, and often erroneously suspected, of being unchaste. Their objects and duties were defined by the late Sheldon Amos, Professor of Jurisprudence, University College, London, in his celebrated work "Laws for the Regulation of Vice" (p. 131). He states them to have been:

(1.) To convert as many women as possible who are hovering between respectability and prostitution into registered prostitutes.

(2.) To secure that a few registered prostitutes as possible evaded the periodical examination.

* *Ibid.*, p. 248.

(3.) To ignore or shield from prosecution brothel-keepers who co-operated with them in those respects.

The System in British India.

In the British Empire in India some measures of Regulation were in force locally, and, from time to time, through the greater part of the present century. A Departmental Committee, appointed in the year 1893, described* the system then recently in operation in India as follows :—

"The principal features of that system were the following, viz. :—

"(1.) The provision in the regimental bazars, or other appointed places within the Cantonments, of dwellings (Chaklas) for prostitutes frequented by British soldiers distinctively from native men; the registration of such women by the Cantonment Magistrate; and the issue of tickets to the registered women.

"(2.) The inspection or examination at prescribed periods or times, at the Lock Hospital, and with penalties for non-attendance, of those registered women, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they were individually healthy or diseased; in the former case they were allowed to return to the practice of prostitution at the Chaklas; in the latter they were detained in hospital for treatment.

"(3.) The provision within each Cantonment of a Lock Hospital for (*a*) the periodical examination of the registered women, and (*b*) the treatment therein of such as proved on inspection to be diseased.

"(4.) The application of compulsion by fine and imprisonment under the Rules as well as the general power of expulsion which appears to be vested in the Cantonment Magistrate."

"The cardinal point of that pre-existing system was, therefore, the periodical examination of the registered women; the other features being accessory and incidental to that purpose; and the

* Blue Book [C.—7148] of 1893, p. vi.

whole system being devised and administered with the main object of insuring, if possible, that all the women to whom British soldiers in each Cantonment were known to resort should be 'fit' or 'healthy,' in a specific sense, at the time of consorting; and in order to prevent immediate contagion and the consequent spread of venereal disease. The antecedent steps of registration, and formal licensing (by tickets), the application of compulsion, and the subsequent treatment of unfit or diseased women, were subordinate to that main object."

Objections to the Regulation System.

The British Committee of the International Federation has in numerous publications stated the grounds of its objections to the Regulation system, which it has summarised as follows :—

"We object to any periodical, or compulsory, examination of women, and any examination whether voluntary or not, the object of which is to ascertain whether a woman is, or is not, fit for prostitution, or which has relation to her intended or expected prospective prostitution; as well as all arrangements, acts, or practices which amount to, or tend towards, the licensing or Regulation of prostitution.

"We also object to all enactments, rules, or regulations, which directly or indirectly authorise, facilitate, suggest, or permit such arrangements, acts, or practices, whether that be, or be not, their object or intent."

Speaking at the Geneva Congress on Public Morality in September, 1877, the late Right Hon. Sir James Stansfeld, G.C.B., M.P., formerly a Cabinet Minister, said in the course of his opening address :—

"Now I beg scientific men to think over all these considerations, and to note how, at each new step in our argument, and as our

criticism cuts deeper, how when we have sought to take a broad view, moral consideratio is force themselves upou us, although we endeavour to leave theu aside, aud to busy ourselves solely with physical health.

"You invent a project by which you—the State—propose to set aside a certain number o! women destined to be the slaves aud the instruments of men's ust; you propose, by your system of examinatiou, to keep th m in good coudition; you fiud that you cannot, with all your ca e, keep them in good condition. Why? Because your whole conc ption is profoundly immoral, and against nature; you have uo re pect for the human body; you forget the soul within it; you hiuk only of making these women serve meu; you acknowledge i ot the humanity, the life, the individuality of these poor iustrumer ts, and you fail because physical humau nature refuses to leud it elf to your plans."

M. Emile de Lave eye, Professor at the University of Liège, &c., wrote as follows in a pamphlet published in 1887, and entitled "Regulated Vice in Relation to Morality":—

"How cau you condeman evil wheu the power whose essential duty is to aid the triur ph of good and right, legalises a traffic which has beeu admirab y described, in a recent judicial decision at Antwerp, as 'having for its results the demoralisatiou aud degradatiou of a large se ction of the humau race?' How can you lead an attack against hose odious practices which have lately horrified the public of Englaud and Belgium, aud caused an inquiry on the part of the English House of Lords, I mean that which has been justly alled 'the White Slave Trade?' And what, in point of fact, is the fuuction of these traders in humau flesh but that of provid ug material for an iudustry which our magistrates authorise and our doctors eudeavour to make inuocuous?

"The baneful result of regulated prostitution is that we make a truce with vice and graut it a domicile in our midst."

Alexandre Dumas (fils),* writing on the same subject, said:—

"Maladroits! Wheu a natiou, Christian, Catholic eveu, when a people which iuvokes continually its revolutiou of '89, which proclaims its desire for justice, liberty, equality, uot ouly for itself but for others, is so hypocritical, so cowardly, and so stultified as to permit that millious of girls, young, healthy, beautiful, of whom they could make intelligent fellow-workers, faithful companions, and fruitful mothers, should be used for uothiug but to be made into degraded, dangerous, and barren prostitutes; such a natiou deserves that prostitutiou should devour it completely; aud this it is which is uow coming upou us!"

M. Jules Favre,† the eminent French Statesman, said:—

"I consider the legal system of prostitution, such as we have in France, as the source of most hateful evils, and as an absolute impediment to auy improvement or reform of morals."

The late John Stuart Mill, the eminent writer on political and economic subjects, in giving evidence‡ before the Royal Commission on May 13th, 1871, thus expressed himself in opposition to the Contagious Diseases Acts.

"I do not think it is part of the business of the Government to provide securities beforehand against the consequences of immoralities of auy kind."

The late Professor Sheldon Amos (already quoted) in "A Concise Statement of the Objections to the Contagious Diseases Acts, 1876," on p. 34, said:—

"A system which metes out in the name of the State the exact

* Postscript to a pamphlet entitled "An Appeal to the People of England on the Recognitiou aud Superintendeuce of Prostitutiou." By an English Mother. 2ud Edition. Nottiugham, 1870.

† From a leaflet issued by the Northern Counties League, March, 1880.

‡ Report of Royal Comm. [C, 408—1] of 1871, Q. 19,999.

number of needy women who shall be permitted to sell their persons to men can only be denounced as a loathsome and parasitic outgrowth on the body politic. To consecrate, or even for a moment to contemplate, such a system as a national institution were a crime against humanity itself. No medical measures can be tolerated which directly tend to multiply the occasions of transgression, nor which, at the moment of applying the cure, point, not to absolute moral recovery, but to a preparation for renewed sin."

It is, in short, contended by the Federation and by Abolitionists generally that, whatever may be the case in individual instances, prostitution is a vast aggregated abuse of women against which all honourable men and all honourable communities are morally bound to wage incessant war; that prostitution is in itself a thing abominable and intolerable; that Regulation involves—

(1.) The suspension of the war against prostitution.

(2.) The suspension of the warring spirit and consequently the setting up of a spirit of toleration for the intolerable thing.

(3.) An active sanction of and participation in the intolerable thing.

(4.) An habitual national recognition of it as a useful, necessary and desirable institution when properly supervised.

The result, in spite of all disclaimers that may be made, is that the system constitutes the State [which assumes to represent, at least in some degree, the national will and conscience], the patron and protector of profligacy, and the upholder and perpetuator of prostitution, and, what is far worse, inflicts the spiritual mischief of the evil idea that profligacy and prostitution are necessarily permanent.

Supposed Hygienic Advantages of Regulation.

The claim put forward by Regulationists in support of their system is that it operates to restrict disease, and in so doing protects and preserves the health, not only of those who themselves indulge in sexual immorality, but also of the general population in the present and the future, by anticipating and precluding the indirect and hereditary consequences of venereal disease.

A number of facts and figures and reasonings, drawn from British and foreign sources, and from authorities in many instances favourable to Regulation, can be adduced to prove that this claim is unfounded. It will be shown that the Regulation System does not and cannot protect from disease; and, on the other hand, that discontinuance of Regulation has not been followed by those disastrous consequences which Regulationists claim that Regulation alone can prevent.

The statistics of disease in the British Army in contrast with those of Foreign Armies, are often quoted by Regulationists to prove the value of the Regulation System. But in such an argument no account has been taken of the great fundamental difference that exists in the composition of the British Army as compared with the armies of the various continental nations.

This difference was recognised by the Marquis of Lansdowne, Secretary of State for War, and formerly Viceroy of India, who, in the course of a debate on the question of disease in the British Army in India, in the House of Lords, said:—

"The comparative immunity enjoyed by the armies of foreign countries is, of course, notorious; but so is the fact that foreign armies differ in many essential particulars from the British Army,

and also the fact that foreign Governments are allowed to do many things which the Government of this country would never be permitted to do. I cannot see that any comparison between an army recruited by voluntary enlistment and a conscript army, between an army recruited entirely from many different classes of society, and an army which is recruited entirely from one class of society—and that a class in which you cannot expect to find the highest level of education or the greatest self-restraint—I cannot bring myself to believe that such a comparison would really be very instructive." ("Parliamentary Debates—Authorised Edition," May 17th, 1897, Col. 603.)

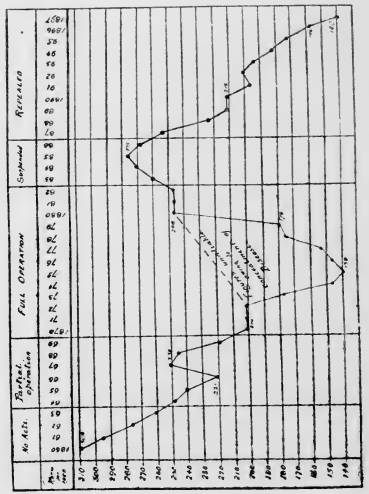
Discontinuance of Regulation not followed by Increased Disease in the British Home Army.

The following are the figures of admissions to hospital for venereal diseases in the Home Army, from 1860 to the latest available return.

Year.	Admissions per 1000.	Remarks.
1860	309	
1861	295	
1862	276	
1863	261	
1864	248	C.D. Act of 1864, applicable to 11 places but scarcely applied at all.
1865	241	
1866	221	
1867	250	C.D. Act of 1866, applicable to 12 places, but in very partial operation.
1868	245	
1869	218	
1870	201	
1871	201	
1872	202	
1873	177	C.D. Acts of 1866-69, applicable to 18 places, and in full operation.
1874	146	
1875	139	
1876	146	
1877	153	Statistics 1873-1879 unreliable. See Parliamentary Paper 509 of 1894.
1878	175	
1879	179	
1880	246	
1881	246	
1882	246	
1883	260	
1884	271	C.D. Acts suspended.
1885	275	
1886	267	
1887	253	
1888	224	
1889	212	
1890	212	
1891	197	
1892	201	C.D. Acts abolished.
1893	195	
1894	182	
1895	174	
1896	158	
1897	140	

[See Parliamentary Returns 325 of 1885; 509 of 1894; 153 of 1896; 140 of 1897; [C—8559] of 1897; and [C—8936] of 1899.]

The above figures are illustrated by the following diagram:—



An Unfounded Allegation and the Reply.

As to the effect of Regulation and Repeal upon the general population of England, the following statements dispose of the theory sometimes advanced, that since the Contagious Diseases Acts were repealed, venereal diseases have become very prevalent amongst the general population.

The Army Medical Report each year gives the number of recruits presenting themselves and the total numbers of these who are rejected each year for venereal diseases as well as for all other causes. From these Reports the following table has been compiled :—

Period.	Total number of Recruits inspected.	Recruits rejected for all causes. Number.	Per 1,000.	Rejected for Syphilis. Number.	Per 1,000.
1871-1875	145,932	43,696	299·42	2,257	15·47
1881-1885	291,434	120,232	412·55	3,076	10·55
1891-1895	311,876	123,911	397·31	1,441	4·62
1897	59,986	22,945	382·5	208	3·47

It will be thus seen that the percentage rejected for syphilis during these periods has fallen from 15·47 per 1,000 to 4·62 per 1,000, and that the figures for the last year published, shows the decline to be still going on. It is further important to observe the fact that this decrease has been accompanied by an increase in the number rejected for all causes. This shows that the reduction of rejections for syphilis is not in consequence of any laxity in rejection.

These figures gain their importance from the fact that the recruits come from all parts of the kingdom, and represent classes of Society and persons of an age little inclined to

self-restraint and often with surroundings which render them peculiarly liable to the diseases under consideration.

Throughout the entire British population venereal disease has long been diminishing. This was pointed out in 1873 by Mr. Herbert Spencer, who, in Chapter V. of his book, entitled "The Study of Sociology," says :—

"All who are acquainted with such matters know that up to some ten years since it was habitually asserted by lecturers when addressing students and by writers in medical journals that in our day syphilis is a far less serious evil than it was in days gone by. Until recently this was a common-place statement called in question by no one in the profession. But while venereal disease has been diminishing in frequency and severity certain instrumentalities and agencies have created a belief that rigorous measures are required to check its progress" (p. 84).

Mr. Spencer adds the results of certain inquiries :—

"Most important of all is the testimony of Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson,* who is recognized as the highest authority on inherited syphilis and to whose discoveries indeed the identifications of syphilitic taint are mainly due. Though thus under a natural bias rather to over-estimate than under-estimate the amount of inherited syphilis, Mr. Hutchinson, while editor of the *British Medical Journal* (August 20th, 1870), wrote :—

"Although there is an impression to the contrary, yet recent discoveries and more accurate investigations so far from extending the domain of syphilis as a cause of chronic disease have decidedly tended to limit it. . . Although we have admitted as positively syphilitic, certain maladies of a definite kind not formerly recognised, we have excluded a far larger number which were once under suspicion. . . We can identify now the subject of severe hereditary taint by his teeth and physiognomy, but those who believe most firmly in the value of these signs, believe also that they are not displayed by one in five thousand of our population."

* F.R.S., late President of the College of Surgeons in England.

"I took the precaution" [adds Mr. Herbert Spencer in a note] "of calling on Mr. Hutchinson to verify the extract given, and to learn from him what he meant by 'severe.' I found that he simply meant *recognizable*. He described to me the mode in which he had made his estimate, and it was clearly a mode which tended rather towards exaggeration of the evil than otherwise. I also learned from him that in the great mass of cases those who have recognisable syphilitic taint pass lives that are but little impaired by it" (p. 87).

Turning to the present day, we have had a revival of alarmist statements of a character similar to those criticised by Mr. Herbert Spencer, and in reply to one of these Mr. Jonathan Hutchinson wrote as follows :—

". I am one of those who both hope and believe that the malady in question is declining both in prevalence and severity. So far from there having been any real increase in the registered mortality there has been a slight reduction of it."—*Times*, April 5th, 1897.

Dr. Nevins laid before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the 9th March, 1880, the results of an enquiry respecting a number of children's hospitals, giving returns embracing 266,000 cases of children treated in these hospitals in 1875. More recently he made a similar enquiry, and has received returns embracing 197,000 cases of children treated in 1895. He finds that the average number of children treated in these hospitals recorded as suffering from some hereditary form of syphilitic disease in 1875 was one in 71, whereas in 1895 it is one in 124, or little more than half as many.

Uniform Sanitary Failure of Regulation in British India.

The Reports of the Army Sanitary Commission uniformly for a long series of years, deposed to the complete inefficacy

of the Regulation system in India. The Commission is composed of eight or nine leading military and medical experts, and is the highest official authority on questions affecting the health of the army. One of their reports, dated 9th September, 1882, concluded an elaborate review of the circumstances at that time as follows :—

"The result of this protracted inquiry and discussion therefore is:—

"1. That Contagious Diseases Acts have failed in India to protect the health of troops from venereal diseases.

"2. That there are no facts on which the continuance of the present measures can be sustained.

"3. That as the sources of infection are on all hands admitted to lie amongst classes of population which cannot be brought under these Acts, the Commission would suggest that the true remedy for the existing state of the disease may be found to be in a properly organised system of dispensary and hospital relief for the use of all classes, and strictly voluntary in its application."—(Parliamentary Paper 200, of 1883, p. 76.)

The Report of the same Commission issued in 1895 was to the same effect :—

"The facts, so far as we can ascertain them, lead us to the conclusion that a compulsory lock hospital system in India has proved a failure, and that its re-institution cannot consequently be advocated on sanitary grounds. In stating this conclusion, we may add that we are merely repeating the opinion which the Army Sanitary Commission have uniformly held, that venereal diseases in the Army of India could not be repressed by such restrictive measures, and in support of this statement we may refer to the memoranda on the Indian Sanitary Reports which have issued from this office for many years. We believe that the best practicable means of diminishing the prevalence of these diseases is to be found in establishing a system of voluntary lock

hospitals, and in providing the soldier, as far as possible, with healthy occupation and recreation." *

It is true that on March 9th, 1897, the Army Sanitary Commission (whose *personnel* had, in the meantime, undergone substantial changes), reported † that :—

"To sensibly check the spread of venereal disease amongst our troops in India by opening voluntary hospitals as has been proposed is, we fear, in face of recent experience in that country, hopeless."

What *was* the recent experience bearing upon the utility or inefficiency of voluntary hospitals which occasioned this startling reversal of a solemn recommendation made in a serious crisis only three years before? In reason and logic it could be nothing less specific than the trial and the failure of the recommended remedy. The Report of a Departmental Committee, C.—8879, issued February 20th, 1897 (or less than three weeks before that of the Commission), proves distinctly (see pp. 28-30) that so far from there having been any trial and failure of voluntary hospitals, the only action taken in connection with them was a course of instant and progressive closure, so that actually 57 were closed within a year of the Commission having advisedly reported that the voluntary system, however ineffective, was "*the best practicable means* of diminishing the prevalence of these diseases."

In the same Report, however, the Commission gives the following frank estimate of the value of the Regulations :—

"It may at once be granted that during the years when prostitution in cantonments was, to some extent, placed under restriction, the lessening of venereal disease amongst the troops

* Parliamentary Paper, No. 318, of 1895, p. 27.

† Parliamentary Paper [C.—8382] of 1897, p. 24.

did not come up to what had been expected. In fact we pronounced the efforts to protect the men by the measures introduced for this purpose to have been a 'failure.' In so far as the operation of such measures did not secure the protection of the soldier to the extent expected, they were unquestionably a failure. But the increase of disease since their complete abolition compels us to admit that although they failed to bring about any marked reduction in the number of men infected they nevertheless exercised a very sensible influence in checking increase."

From this passage it will be seen that the Army Sanitary Commission, which for many years declared the absolute uselessness of the Regulation system, somewhat changed its tone. It has already been noted that this change was co-incident with a considerable change in the membership. A different degree of importance has been attached to the change of tone from that which it properly bears. In the first place the Commission were careful to say that all efforts to make prostitution healthy had "failed to bring about any marked reduction in the number of men infected." They admit the constantly increasing prevalence of disease, and all they claim is that it might have increased faster but for the measures adopted. As though one might say : "The deluge is coming—we cannot avert it—we may delay it for a few weeks or years."

Sanitary Failure of Regulation in the Dutch East Indies.

The futility, and worse than futility, of the Regulation system, is similarly demonstrated by the experience of the Dutch in their East Indian Colonies. The figures of admissions into hospital of the Dutch Colonial troops for venereal

disease for the decennial period 1886-1895 show an average annual number of 454·4 per 1,000. There are ups and downs. In 1886 the number was 468·5; in 1895 it was 453·5; the worst year was 1887 with 514·7, and the best year was 1893 with 377·1. During the whole period Regulation was strictly maintained. The figures correspond somewhat with those of the European troops in British India where, during the latter part of the same period, the Regulation system had been partially, or at least nominally, discontinued. The average hospital admissions for venereal diseases of British troops was 441 per 1,000 as against 454 in the Dutch Army. The returns of both countries entirely discredit the system as a sanitary measure.

Universal Sanitary Failure of Regulation and some of its Causes.

The conspicuous failure of the Sanitary Regulation of Prostitution in India strikingly corresponds with experience elsewhere. A body of writers on the Continent of Europe, so fully acquainted with the system down to its minutest details that they may well be termed experts, and whose writings may be taken as "Text-Books" of the Art of Regulation, abundantly illustrate the fact of such failure as *essentially general*, and not merely *local*. Some of these writers belong to the medical profession and occupy important positions in the working of the system, while others are administrators who do not pretend to any medical skill, but who have a thorough and practical grasp of its operations and results. One of the latter, M. Lecour (for about fifteen years the chief of the *Police des Mœurs*, who carry out the

system in Paris), summing up in 1870 the final results of eighty years' experience in that city, wrote:—

"The Administration has redoubled its activity and it has finally succeeded in maintaining the registered public women in a satisfactory sanitary condition." *

And yet, as M. Lecour had stated on the previous page,

"Prostitution is increasing and becoming more dangerous to the public health." †

The writings of other experts, though not so outspoken, are uniformly incompatible with anything but a precisely similar state of things in the cities of which they individually speak, viz., *increased and increasing danger side by side with increased stringency and more perfect arrangements.*

Though differing somewhat in their estimate of its precise extent, the Continental experts are absolutely unanimous as to their ridiculously small success in the preparatory step towards the attainment of their object, and Dr. Mauriac, Physician to the Ricord Hospital (for venereal cases), Paris, and author of several valuable works on Syphilis, supports them, writing so recently as 1896—

"Although the medical inspection of licensed brothels and of regulated prostitution is conducted by a numerous, well-trained and experienced staff, how many cases both in Paris and the provinces, escape their vigilance! Its efficacy only covers a relatively small number of cases, and this number decreases more and more." ‡

* Lecour, "La Prostitution à Paris et à Londres," Paris, 1870, p. 255.

† *Ibid*, p. 254.

‡ "Traitement de la Syphilis," par Charles Mauriac, Médecin de l'Hôpital Ricord (Hôpital du Midi). Paris, 1896, p. 62.

A Cry of Despair.

Perhaps the most striking testimony to the persistent failure of the Regulation system, from its original inception to the present moment, has now to be adduced.

Arrangements have been made for a Conference to be held at Brussels next September, at which, it has been officially stated, the attendance of some among the highest Medical and Legal experts and "the support of all the scientific celebrities of Europe and America" is already assured.

What is the object of this Conference? The following passage is extracted from the formal letter of invitation drawn up to expound that object:—

"The ever-increasing propagation of syphilis and venereal maladies has become a serious danger for society. It is of the utmost importance, while yet there is time, to take measures to endeavour to arrest the invading march of the scourge."

The following is the first question for deliberation at the Conference:—

"Have the systems of Regulation actually in force had any influence on the frequency and the dissemination of syphilis and venereal diseases?"

What can be a greater confession of failure than to allege "the ever-increasing propagation of syphillis" and to propound as an open question whether Regulation "has had any influence" upon it.

The Experts in difficulties.

With the knowledge they possess of the true character and effect of the examination, the experts have no difficulty in understanding why the vast majority of even degraded women,

so far from not caring about, abhor, and use all their ingenuity to escape it. They are, however, staggered at the number of these women who succeed in baffling all efforts to bring them within the sanitary *cordon*, and they recognise this "clandestine" or "illicit" prostitution as fatal to all efforts to make debauchery healthy.

The large and increasing number of "clandestine" prostitutes is evidence of a still larger number of "clandestine" customers.

"Clandestine sexual intercourse is to-day most in fashion. Nothing will be able to stop it. It has become and will always remain the most prolific source of venereal contagion." *

Well may the British Army Sanitary Commission remark, that:—

"To keep down clandestine prostitution 'would require a degree of zeal and hourly watchfulness which is never likely to be carried out.'" †

An immoral force which grows ever stronger as debasement proceeds must be noted. That force is the Spirit of Lawlessness. Wisely, indeed, did the late M. E. de Pressensé ‡ say (at a Conference in London held 19th May, 1876):—

"You cannot carry out your system, and up to the present time it has miserably failed. How could it be otherwise? You would

* "Traitement de la Syphilis," par Charles Mauriac, Médecin de l'Hôpital Ricord (Hôpital du Midi). Paris, 1896, p. 62.

† "Report on Sanitary Measures in India, 1875-76," p. 26.

‡ Formerly Deputy for the Department of the Seine and a Member of a Special Commission of Inquiry into the Condition of the Hospital of St. Lazare, the chief hospital "certified" under the system in Paris.

regulate vice, but it is of the essence of vice to refuse to be regulated."

M. Lenaers (Chief of the Police of Brussels) in an official report,* dated 6th August, 1877, has a passage strikingly emphasising the feature—the greater the stringency the greater the risk—which crops up at every turn with the persistence of an irrefragable law. He writes :—

"In the matter of prostitution it is difficult, almost impossible, to reconcile the necessities of the administration with the exigencies of science. Thus, the greater number of doctors who have occupied themselves with the subject would have the public women submitted to multiplied and numerous medical examinations. I do not dispute the utility of these frequent examinations, but I should remark that the more the women are subjected to them, the more do they dislike to submit themselves to the orders of the administration, which they end by detesting; the more do they endeavour to escape the surveillance of the police; and the greater does the number become of those neglecting to present themselves. The terrible development which clandestine prostitution has taken, proves superabundantly that medical examinations too frequently repeated are against the interests of health and public morality."

Dr. Augagneu at the meeting of the Society of Dermatology and Syphilography at Lyons in 1894, said :—

"Repression is becoming more and more impotent, for the licensed houses are disappearing daily, and clandestine prostitution cannot possibly be kept under surveillance, so clandestine prostitution increases at the expense of the other two kinds."†

* "Rapport et projet de reglement sur le prostitution à Bruxelles, presentés au College des Bourgmestre et Echevins, le 6 Aout, 1877, par M. E. Lenaers, Commissaire en chef de Police."

† "Traitement de la Syphilis," by Dr. Charles Mauriac, of the Ricord Hospital, Paris, published 1896, page 803.

The British Army Sanitary Commission, speaking of the causes of the utter failure of the Regulation system in India, say* :—

"First there was the difficulty of being able to tell when a woman of the prostitute class is incapable of causing disease. The opinion so commonly held that this can be easily determined on examination, is one of the popular errors which need correction. We can only deal with facts, and there was ample evidence in the course of the Indian Lock Hospital experience to show that a woman's examination was no guarantee that she might not communicate disease."

Added to this risk is another known to specialists in all countries under the name of "Mediate Contagion,"† to which the Commission, in their memorandum,‡ thus ominously refer :—

"There can be little doubt, especially where the number of women available was small, either because many were in hospital or because of other reasons, that the condition of men also constituted an element in the problem."

The Sanitary Commissioner, with the Government of India, says§ :—

"This is a danger which does not appear to be sufficiently

* Parliamentary Paper, No. 318, of 1895, p. 26.

† One of the most recent references to "Mediate Contagion" is that of Dr. Mauriac ("Traitement de la Syphilis," 1896, page 775, VII.). It fully confirms the serious estimate of the risk indicated herein.

‡ "Memorandum by the Army Sanitary Commission on the Statistics of Venereal Disease among British and Native Troops in India, for the year 1892," Parliamentary Paper, No. 318, of 1895, p. 27.

§ "Report on Sanitary Measures in India, 1875-76," p. 75.

appreciated—that registered women, to all appearance healthy, are yet capable of propagating disease."

Mediate contagion is the transmission of contagion from one infected man to another man by means of a woman, herself uninfected and possibly immune against infection.

Immoral Influence of the System.

The Federation's objections to the State Regulation and Licensing of Prostitution on moral grounds are, as already stated, in their view, of even greater importance than those which they found on hygienic views. They conceive the moral failure of the system to be unmistakeably clear. Its demoralising effects, both upon the registered women and upon the life and character of the general population, are here set forth with terrible precision. M. Lenaers, speaking from his own experience as chief administrator of the system at Brussels, reported to the City Council that:—

"The inscription on the rolls of prostitution is an exceedingly grave and delicate matter when we consider the position in which it places the woman who is the object of it, for while this inscription is a purely administrative act the object of which is to compel the habitual prostitute to submit to the examination, none the less does it inflict (*infüge*) on the woman a patent of infamy and degradation, and exercise a disastrous and fatal influence on her future life."*

The Head of the Police in Berlin, in an Administrative Report for the decade 1881-90, acknowledges that the

* "Rapport et projet de reglement sur le prostitution à Bruxelles, presentés au College des Bourgmestre et Echevins, le 6 Aout, 1877, par M. E. Lenaers, Commissaire en chef de Police."

registration of prostitutes, with its consequences, horribly aggravates their abject condition.

Dr. Mireur (himself an Examining Surgeon at Marseilles) describes the "obligation" to submit to the examination in language which, if used by an *opponent* instead of a strenuous and skilled *advocate* of the system, would be denounced as sensational and exaggerated. He writes of it as "an obligation prodigiously degrading"; as "debasing and terrible";* and he characterises "the system" which enforces it, "which regularises and legitimates the sorrowful industry of the prostitute," as, "in fact, the sinister stroke by which the woman is cut off from society, after which she ceases to belong to herself and becomes the chattel (*chose*) of the Administration."†

Dr. Mauriac, who, though not an "Expert," has an intimate knowledge of the system, wrote in 1896:—

"This terrible registration is one of the most abominable kinds of slavery inflicted on a free being."‡

To become the inmate of a supervised brothel is to plunge into a still "deeper depth" of degradation than that of submitting to the debasing and irksome examination. Dr. Mireur tells us that:—

"The girl of the brothel is the type *par excellence* of the public woman. She is the modern slave who, having sacrificed her personality, has become the tool of the brothel-keeper and property of the public."§

* Mireur, "La Syphilis et la Prostitution," p. 249.

† *Ibid*, p. 248-9.

‡ Dr. Mauriac, "Traitement de la Syphilis." Paris, 1896, p. 797.

§ Mireur, p. 279.

Dr. Mireur also approvingly quotes the statement of M. Alphonse Liquiros that :—

"When once the woman has entered there, she bids adieu to heaven, to liberty, to honour, and to the world."*

Dr. Mauriac (already quoted), summing up his conclusions on the Regulation System, writes :—

"This is where we are at the end of the nineteenth century. The old institutions which arrogated to themselves the right of regulating sexual commerce have not been definitely abolished, but we feel that they are breaking to pieces on all sides like a worm-eaten building on the point of falling to ruin."†

In an enquiry into the results of the system before a Select Committee of the House of Commons much evidence was given as to its demoralising effects. The following, however, is here adduced as from the mouth of a witness called in support of the system. The Rev. Flavel Cook, D.D., the Chaplain to the Lock Hospital, Westbourne Park, London, said ‡ :—

"I think it is obvious to almost anyone at first sight, that the Government patients are horribly alike at one dull, dead level. The ordinary patients are very mixed, some of more and some of less refinement of appearance, but the Government patients are brutalised beyond description in manner and in appearance."

The late Right Hon. A. J. Mundella, M.P., who was a member of the Royal Commission of 1871, speaking on

* Mireur, p. 271.

† "Traitement de la Syphilis." Paris, 1896.

‡ "Report of Select Committee." Parliamentary Paper, No. 340, of 1882, p. 107.

November 11th, 1874, about that enquiry into the operation of the Contagious Diseases Acts, said :—

"You must remember we were entirely dependent upon officials, and upon Government for evidence. They had before us the whole of those who had had the machinery in their fingers for working the Acts; and they assured us that they were Acts of mercy—wonders of reclamation—almost that they were heaven-sent Acts. But what was the result? Day by day as we searched, as we cross-examined these witnesses, we found every witness to admit this: 'You claim that you have done some good to the women; have you improved the men?' 'We cannot say that.' 'Is there less vice?' 'We cannot say that there is.' 'Is there more vice?' 'Well, perhaps there is.' And the whole evidence that came before us went to prove that it was simply a State-regulated system of vice, stimulating and promoting vice, taking men to the districts for the practice of vice, and breaking down the *morale* of the population."

Speaking in London on July 9th, 1897, Sir James Stansfeld said :—

"What we have always said with regard to making vice safe is this, that it is a sanction and therefore a temptation. It is a temptation because it is a sanction. We have never said it is a temptation because it made vice safe, because it did not. That we have proved. We have said it was a temptation because the young men believed that vice was safe, but we have maintained and declared that the great offence of that conception was that it meant the Government sanction of vice."

The Municipal Council of Paris passed the following resolution on the 28th December, 1880 :—"The Municipal Council, considering that the Institution of the Police des Mœurs (Police of Morals) is destructive of the principles of individual liberty, *without succeeding* in accomplishing the end at which it aims, either in the diminution

of venereal disease, or *in the prevention of offences against public order and decency;*" Resolved:—"That from and after the 1st January, 1882, the Police des Mœurs shall be abolished." Note.—This Resolution was not carried into effect, as the French *Government* interposed and prevented its execution.

Dr. Jeannel,* of Bordeaux, bitterly reproaches M. Lecour for the increase of profligacy in Paris. He says (p. 182):—"The streets of Paris and all places of public resort are crowded with the abandoned: cabs, coffee houses, public houses, railway stations, theatres, hotels, lodging houses, and shops (p. 196) are used as their lairs or hunting grounds; scandalous scenes are enacted in the streets, and the hospitals for venereal diseases are crowded" (p. 386). And this, be it observed, is the picture drawn, not by a "fanatic" or ignorant opponent of the system, but by one of its most enthusiastic advocates.

It cannot be denied that all public official attempts to make debauchery healthy give to that debauchery a national and administrative sanction, the influence of which (like that of gravitation) never sleeps, but is ever giving fresh impulse to vice, and therefore is ever widening the area of the disease which it delusively professes to prevent. Over and above the sources of physical disease, to which alone this selective system impotently addresses itself, there are sources of a moral contagion still more disastrous to society, which the system stirs up and fertilises, scattering the evil seed far and wide, and nullifying all the moral precepts of those in authority.

* "De la Prostitution dans les Grandes Villes au Dix-neuvième Siècle." Second Edition.

M. Aimé Humbert, Professor at the Academy at Neuchâtel, Minister of Public Instruction, Canton Neuchâtel, Member of Parliament of the Confederation, and formerly President of the "Chambres des Etats Suisses," speaking at a Conference held at Neuchâtel, on February 6th, 1875, said:—

"Well, let us admit for an instant—what I consider by no means proved—that this assertion [that Regulation would cause contagious diseases to become rarer or less pernicious] is incontestable. I will tell you of another contagious disease, which, wherever this system obtains, becomes ever more deadly and less rare. It does not, indeed, attack any single organ of the human frame, but it withers all that is human—mind, body, soul. It strikes our youth at that unhappy moment when first they cross the threshold of the abodes of State-regulated vice; and when they recross that threshold to the purer air, oh God! what fatal deed has not been done? For them the spring of life has no more flowers; the very friendships of their youth are polluted, they become strangers to all the honourable relations of a pure young life; and thus it is that more and more in these days we see stretching wider and wider around us the circle of this mocking, faded, worn out, sceptical youth, without poetry and without love, without enthusiasm, without faith, and without joy.

"And yet this is the generation on which the hopes of our country rest!"

In truth, the "*Maison de tolérance*" constitutes an illegal derogation of public law, and is a violation of principles enacted by the State itself. On the one hand, the State punishes incitement to debauchery, at the same time making itself an accomplice by its sanction of these houses. On the other hand, it gives to the individual, and even to criminals, certain guarantees against arrest and illegal detention. Instead of aiding the return of women to a better

life, it surrounds their departure with every kind of difficulty, and goes so far as to permit their sequestration. Furthermore, the State is the guardian of minors, but it violates its duty as guardian in allowing young girls to be registered, and in exposing young people of both sexes to the temptation of legalised debauchery.

Some further moral objections should be noted. It must be admitted by all students of the Regulation System that it proceeds throughout upon the supposition that the amount of male vice is practically irreducible and will remain so for an indefinite period. And yet, even under the most desponding views of the future of society, prostitution and fornication must be looked upon as constantly diminishing evils. That is to say, they must be regarded as likely to diminish at exactly the same rate as all the manifold causes of them, against which it is the constant aim of society and the State to contend, diminish. Even those who delight most in speaking of vice as a "necessity" scarcely avow the doctrine that while ignorance decreases, while property becomes better distributed, and the problem of pauperism approaches a solution, still exactly the same number of women, or a greater number, must unceasingly be sacrificed to the uncontrolled impulses of a proportionate number of men. No statesman, no social reformer, no honest citizen even—certainly no woman—would admit this for a moment, even as a speculative position. But in the Regulation System we are confronted with a very serious danger; the danger of permanent legislation for evils that are transitory. The mere existence before the eyes of all men and women of so stupendous a mechanism, the sole purpose

and meaning of which is to be found in the anticipated prevalence of a constant quantity of sexual vice, cannot but sustain the existence of vice long after it, and the diseases attending it, would otherwise have become matters of very small political moment.

Reference has just been made to the distinctive views of women on the subject. With regard to a system, the keystone of which is the compulsory examination of women, the last word belongs to woman to whom God has given the right and duty of defending her person. For women, the enforcement of this horrible personal exploration is the crowning expression of the enslavement of women. It marks the determination of a certain portion of mankind to retain woman in a state of slavery for unworthy ends; to make of her a *thing*, an instrument, a chattel, an animal—anything except a *woman*, a friend, a comrade, a companion. Such an outrage inflicted upon a man is not to be compared with the same act when applied to the person of a woman. A greater sacredness surrounds the person of a woman, because of the dignity and tenderness of the maternal functions. Every woman is not actually a mother, but every woman has the capacity of maternity. These functions in women ought to be reverenced by every man, not only in the person of the virtuous woman, of his own mother, wife, or daughter, but in the person of every creature, however guilty or degraded, who bears the semblance of a woman.

What the State ought to do.

It having been demonstrated that the system of regulating and licensing prostitution has everywhere been a hygienic

failure and a demoralising poison, attention is now directed to the way in which the State may more nobly and truly fulfil its proper functions, in the interests alike of morals and of the public health.

The following is an extract from a Memorandum* drawn up by the British Committee in March, 1897:—

"While we are unalterably opposed to the reimposition of any system containing the essential principles of the Contagious Diseases Acts, it is desirable at once to say that we do not believe in a do-nothing policy. From the first we have known and said that the abolition of the system of Regulation was but a clearing of the ground, and our hope was that, when the ground should be so cleared, the Army authorities might be led to seek and to find a better way. We fear, however, that the subject has had no sufficient attention

"The things that can be done all come under one great head. An honest attempt must be made to diminish the vice which is the cause of the disease. To do anything else, while neglecting this, will be vain.

"We demand, therefore, that there should be no reversion to an immoral and discredited system, but that practical steps should be taken which, while supplying adequate means for the voluntary treatment of disease, should be based on—

"(1) A positive discouragement of sexual vice;

"(2) And a positive recognition of the merits of abstinence from vice.

"In relation to this we would remark:

"(*a*) As matters stand it seems that even the most habitual profligacy is no impediment to promotion. It is understood that Commanding Officers make confidential reports on their subordinates, but that the question of sexual morality is never mentioned. Should it not be ordered that henceforth moral character shall be at least an important element in promotion?

* Parliamentary Paper [C.—8495] of 1897, pp. 10-11.

"(*b*) A man who has spent much of his time in hospital from these disgraceful diseases may, if he be a well conducted soldier in other respects when he is out of hospital, get his discharge with a character described as 'exemplary.' Should not the War Office decide at once, as it can if it please, that the 'medical history sheet' shall be taken into consideration as well as the 'defaulters' sheet' in giving the soldier a character?

"(*c*) Why should not the bad condition of a regiment in regard to this question be regarded by the authorities as a reflection on the officers and regiment, involving special discipline?"

These passages indicate the general lines upon which, with local and special modifications wherever necessary, Governments should, in all civilised and progressive communities, frame their policy with regard to the vast problems of public health and morality.

Both in England and in India the above recommendations have received marked attention.

Quite recently two important circulars upon the question of disease in the British Army have been sent out by the highest authorities. The first,* dated 14th July, 1897, was issued by Sir George White, Commander-in-Chief in India, urging the importance of using every means to decrease the inefficiency in the Army from this cause. He urges that every possible effort should be made to draw men from the bazars, and other neighbourhoods frequented by loose women, by means of extended opportunities for healthy exercise and physical recreation. Officers, medical and others, should be invited to give lectures to the men on the moral and physical deterioration which is the almost certain result of consorting with loose women in India.

* Blue Book [C.—9025] of 1898.

On the 28th April, 1898, Lord Wolseley, the Commander-in-Chief of the Home Army, issued a Memorandum conveying a similar exhortation. In this Memorandum,* the War Office, for the first time in the history of our country, definitely raises its official voice in censure of sexual immorality, and gives the full countenance of authority to the idea that morality is desirable in the Army, and to the effort to promote it. The Memorandum concludes as follows:—

"The Commander-in-Chief is confident that officers, non-commissioned officers and men in the Queen's service, will spare no pains to remove from the Army the reproach which is due to a want of self-restraint on the part of a comparatively small number of soldiers, and that officers of all ranks will do their utmost to impress on their men that, in the important consideration of morality and temperance, soldiers of Her Majesty's Army should, as befits their honourable calling, compare favourably with other classes of the civil population."

Much as those whose views are expressed in these pages rejoice† at this new policy of the British military authorities, they do not wish to be understood, in citing this particular official pronouncement, as attempting to prescribe the degree and manner of the moral support and influence due to nations from their Governments. Their principal

* Parliamentary Paper [C.—9019] of 1898.

† The Federation have always strongly held, however, that moral protestation employed in conjunction with measures of Regulation are only whitewash for the corrupt sepulchres, and that the two methods cannot be successfully worked together. For 30 years they have uttered warnings against this ill-omened conjunction, and have protested against the Regulation System meeting with an undeserved and misleading extenuation on that account.

object will have been served if they have succeeded in persuading their readers at least of this indispensable negative doctrine, that among the objects to the attainment of which Governments *must not* employ public authority and public funds is the system of licensed prostitution. History indeed shows, what common sense might have anticipated, that merely repressive laws, whether addressed to men and women alike, or, as has been most common, to women alone, are far too weak to grapple with a strongly fixed proclivity to vice; and weak laws, by proclaiming their own impotence, only add to the evil they affect to remedy. But there is no reason whatever why the State should pass to the opposite extreme and specially patronise and help flagitious people only because its laws are inefficacious directly to repress their profligacy. The State must cling determinedly to its proper policy and support its own essential moral institutions, either ignoring, or waging a deadly war with, all that endeavours to supplant them.

Before a conclusion is made one last point, which, in justice and in reason should have been definitely decided before the first measure of Regulation was attempted, but which, from the beginning, has been altogether evaded by Regulationists, must be firmly insisted upon. It is this. The moral and political objections to Regulation are seldom denied. They are very generally acknowledged with anxiety. Where they are set aside and where Regulation is resorted to it has always been with at least a pretence of regret, and on the single plea that Regulation is a necessity, deplorable perhaps, but still a necessity. That being so, it rests with the Regulationists, even from their own point of view, to

show not only a strong case for the advantages of their system, but a case so overwhelming, and success so great, as in their own estimation to overcome objections which they themselves feel; but they do not, they cannot, claim to have shown such a case or to have achieved such success in any part of the world.

PART II.

THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC.

Passages have already been quoted from the writings of ardent Regulationists in which they admit the deplorable condition to which the system reduces the unfortunate women who are subjected to it, especially those in the tolerated houses. To these quotations may be added the following words of M. Lenaers, the Chief of Police at Brussels, in the official report already referred to. He says that the women in the tolerated houses

"Are subjected to obligations without number; they are forced so to speak, to give themselves up to the first comer, however deep, their repugnance to him may be; they are compelled to incur heavy expenses and to submit themselves to the yoke of the keepers of the houses; their liberty of action is exceedingly limited; they must never be seen at the doors or windows of the house; they scarcely ever go out, and then always under the escort of the mistress: in a word, they possess only that amount of independence which the mistress chooses to grant them, and the mistresses extend or control this independence according as it suits their own interests, and without any reference to the will or preferences of the women."

He proceeds to argue that these houses ought to be encouraged, saying:—

"These houses present several advantages: their keepers being interested in the maintenance of order are themselves a police, they watch over the health of their girls, they exact their regular submission to the examination and send them to the hospital on the least suspicion of illness. The reputation and the prestige of their establishment depend on the security in regard to their health which their clients find there; on the guarantee given to them of not being exposed to anything disagreeable, and the assurance that their presence in such places will never be divulged. Through these causes the keepers of the houses become in a manner the auxiliaries of the police."

He explains some of the difficulties of the keepers of these establishments which he considers so desirable:—

"In order to keep up their establishments they are obliged to increase the luxury of their arrangements and to lay out large sums of money in costly researches for women."

It is here that the direct connection between the authorised houses of debauchery and the White Slave Traffic comes prominently into view. Mr. Wilhelm Joest, in his book, "Du Japon en Allemagne par la Siberie," said:—

"People in Europe speak with indignation of the traffic in negroes. It would be just as well if they would open their eyes to what is going on much nearer—throughout the whole of Europe—especially in Germany and Austria, where the exportation of white slaves is carried on, on a large scale. . . .

"Numbers are embarked at Hamburg whose destination is South America, Bahia, and Rio de Janeiro. The greater number are probably engaged for Monte Video and Buenos Ayres; others are sent by the Straits of Magellan to Valparaiso. Other cargoes are sent to North America, some being forwarded through England, others direct. The competition which the traders meet with

when they land sometimes constrains them to go further ahead; they are found therefore descending the Mississippi with their cargoes to New Orleans and Texas. Others are taken on to California. In the market of California they are sorted, and thence taken to provision the different localities on the coast as far as Panama. Others are sent from the New Orleans' market to Cuba, the Antilles, and Mexico. Others are taken from Bohemia, Germany and Switzerland, across the Alps to Italy, and thence further south to Alexandria and Suez, and eastward to Bombay, Calcutta, Singapore, Hong Kong and Shanghai. . . .

"This enormous traffic is perfectly organised. It has its agents and commercial travellers everywhere, and if the Foreign Ministers of different countries would consent to demand of their Consuls a report on the subject, they would bring to light some wonderful statistics."

The Calcutta Purity Committee a few years since obtained terrible evidence of the extent of the import of European girls into that city, where the brothels, though not actually licensed, were practically "tolerated" by the authorities, and the keepers were in complete organisation for their mutual advantage and protection.

The most complete exposure of the ramifications of this Traffic as regards England was given before the House of Lords' Committee in 1881-82, showing how many English girls were decoyed into authorised houses of prostitution at Brussels, from whence their escape was practically impossible, owing to the connivance, indeed co-operation, of the police with the keepers of the brothels.

In a Memorandum presented to that Committee by M. de Laveleye, dated the 5th July, 1881, he wrote:—

"The 'White Slave Trade' . . . will not be effectually repressed so long as prostitution continues on the Continent a

traffic, not only tolerated but legalised, privileged, and licensed in the same way as any other traffic. . . .

"As long as the slave trade was a legalised institution in some States, its suppression was impossible, in spite of the most active supervision of the cruisers and men-of-war. . . .

"According to the economic law, supply always follows demand. Those who supply the white slaves are only the partners of the keepers of these houses, which are authorised and protected on the Continent."

There is ample evidence that similar iniquities to those in Brussels are carried on in other cities where brothels are licensed and supervised by the authorities.

It may be laid down with certainty that where brothels are licensed, or where, as in India, they were actually provided by the military authorities for the soldiers, it follows, with the certainty with which results follow causes, that means will be found for filling the brothels from time to time with fresh victims. Those who maintain that prostitution is a necessity—who justify its supervision by the State in the interests of profligate men—and who advocate, as M. Lenaers does, the establishment, and even the multiplication, of licensed houses of debauchery—cannot logically object to the hateful traffic by which these abominable places are supplied with their human merchandise.

On the other hand, the International Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Prostitution, has, from the first, strenuously protested against the White Slave Traffic in every form.

ADDENDA.

Is Continence Injurious to Health?

In close connection with the false theory dealt with in the foregoing pages to the effect that, man being constituted as he is, prostitution is inevitable and a necessity, is the impression which has acquired a spurious credit in some quarters, that continence in many, if not in most, cases is injurious to men. This impression has been emphatically contested by the most eminent medical men. A selection of the most weighty opinions is added.

Sir James Paget, Bart., in his "Clinical Lectures," addressed especially to medical students, says (p. 287):—

"Many of your patients will ask you about sexual intercourse, and *some will expect you to prescribe fornication. I would just as soon prescribe theft* or lying, or anything else that God has forbidden. *Chastity does no harm* to mind *or body*: its *discipline* is *excellent: marriage can be safely waited for;* and among the many nervous and hypochondriacal patients who have talked to me about fornication I have never heard one say that he was better or happier for it."

Sir Andrew Clark, Bart., in a private letter, employs if possible stronger language still in denying the benefit to health or the alleged necessity for prostitution.

Sir Wm. Gull and Prof Humphry, of Cambridge, one of the highest physiological authorities, both concur in this view; whilst the Medical Faculty of the University of Christiania have officially stated:—

"It is absolutely false to assert that sexual indulgence is necessary for perfect health."

The following declaration has been signed by 59 medical men in New York, most of the signatories being men with special opportunities for forming a reliable opinion:—

"In view of the widespread suffering, physical disease, deplorable hereditary results, and moral deterioration inseparable from unchaste living, the undersigned members of the medical profession in New York and its vicinity unite in declaring it as our opinion that chastity—a pure, continent life for both sexes, is consonant with the best conditions of physical, mental, and moral health."

The English Law as to Brothels.

By the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 any person keeping a brothel, or as the owner of a house knowingly permitting it to be used as a brothel, is liable for a first offence to a penalty not exceeding £20, or to imprisonment for three months; and for subsequent offences to increasing punishments amounting to a penalty of £40 and to imprisonment for a term, which may, under certain circumstances, extend to seven months.

There is also another mode of legal procedure under an old Act, which is not now so generally used.

"Le Bulletin Continental."—Revue Mensuelle des intérêts de la moralité publique, organe central de la Fédération Abolitionniste Internationale, publié par le Secrétariat Général de la Fédération, Genève, rue Saint-Léger, 6.—Prix de l'abonnement: Pour les pays de l'Union postale 2fr. 60

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